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ABSTRACT

The conference reported on in this document addressed two specific questions: Since 1968, when the Kerner Report made recommendations to the media about the employment of minorities and about the news coverage of minorities, how far have the news media organizations come in bridging the communications gap between the media and minorities? In what directions do the media, and minorities working in the media, appear to be headed in the next decade? Three panels provide a framework for discussing those questions: the first panel discussed education, training, and employment of minority journalists; the second panel examined methods and trends in minority news coverage; and the third panel explored the professional expectations, experiences, and attitudes of black reporters and white editors. The general concensus of the panel discussions was that "the more things change, the more things stay the same"; although more blacks and other minorities have been educated and employed in journalism, the frustrations and inequities that existed when the Kerner Report was first published exist today, ten years later. An appendix contains minority journalism student enrollment and employment data. (RL)

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Minorities and the Media
A Conference Report

by Marion Marzolf
and Melba Tolliver

Sponsored by the Howard R. Marsh
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The Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance of The University of Michigan is located in the Department of Journalism.

"Kerner Plus 10: Conference on Minorities and the Media," was held at the Horace R. Rackham School of Graduate Studies on April 22, 1977. It was one in a series of conferences on media performance sponsored by the Center.

This conference was planned and directed by Dr. Marion T. Marzolf, assistant professor of journalism at The University of Michigan, and Melba Tolliver, NEH Journalism Fellow at The University of Michigan (on leave from WNBC-TV in New York).

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Kerner Plus 10

Ten years ago, riots of a major or serious nature erupted in more than three dozen American cities. They were violent reminders of the persistent racial disharmony that divides the country into black and white.

The worst rioting occurred during a two-week period in July, first in Newark, then in Detroit.

On July 29, 1967, two days after the Detroit violence was brought under control, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the executive order creating the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and made former Illinois Governor, Otto Kerner, its chairman.

Johnson gave the Kerner Commission a threefold task: to find out what happened, why it happened, and what could be done to prevent future disorders.

The Commission submitted its report seven months later, and one of its most stinging indictments was directed at the American news media. It charged the news media with "a failure to communicate," to blacks and whites alike, the complex and fundamental problem of race relations in America. Further, the Commission accused the media of writing and reporting "from the standpoint of a white man's world."

The news media were challenged to meet these charges by instituting a number of recommendations set forth by the Commission. They included:

- portray the Negro as a matter of routine, and in the context of the total society.
- recognize the significance of the urban story and develop resources to cover it.
- assign reporters on a permanent basis to the urban and ghetto beats.
- establish contacts and better lines of communication with their counterparts in the black press.
- reverse the "shockingly backward" efforts to seek, hire, and promote black journalists.
- train and promote capable blacks to policy and decision-making positions.

In the decade since Kerner, the American news media have responded to the Commission's criticisms and recommendations in a variety of ways. Two areas in which their actions were most immediate and measurable have been the training and hiring of blacks.

After 1967, several training programs for minority journalists were established. The most successful of these was the Summer Program for Minority Journalists at Columbia University, which served as a model for some other programs that came along after it.

At the time of the Kerner investigations blacks held few of the news editorial jobs in the white press. Between 1967 and 1977, the number of black news professionals

on daily newspapers went from 25 or 30 to about 300, or less than 1 per cent of the total figure.

More black reporters work in broadcasting today than the handful employed in the field ten years ago. While there are no definite figures for the current number, an American Society of Newspaper Editors report for 1975 said minorities comprise 3 per cent of the total number of broadcasting's news professionals.

It was against this background and with the purpose of gathering up-to-date information about the state of relations between the news media and minorities that we held the *Kerner Plus 10 Conference* at The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor on April 22, 1977.

The conference addressed two specific questions: How far have the news organizations come in bridging the communications gap between the media and minorities? And in what directions do the media, and minorities working in them, appear to be headed in the next decade?

Three panels provided the framework for our discussion. The first covered *Education, Training, and Employment* of minority journalists. The second, *A Failure to Communicate*, examined methods and trends in minority news coverage. The third, *Professionalism on Both Sides of the Desk*, explored the professional expectations, experiences, and attitudes of black reporters and white editors.

Each session opened with statements from the panel, followed by discussion between panel members and 50 invited guests from the Great Lakes area representing journalism educators, newspaper and broadcast managements, reporters, and editors.

Robert C. Maynard, editorial board member of the *Washington Post*, made the opening remarks of the conference.

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This Far By Fear
Opening Remarks

by Robert C. Maynard,
editorial board, The Washington Post,
and director of The Berkeley Summer Program
for Minority Journalists.

c 1977 Robert C. Maynard

When you asked me to come and talk about Kerner 10 years later, my mind automatically flicked back to Watts as a seminal event in our discussion. I had to find a passage that had been nagging in the back of my mind and which appeared in Robert Conot's remarkable account of that uprising, *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness*. He describes the first few hours of the violence, and says:

> On their transistor radios, the people in the street could hear the news broadcasts saying that a riot was in progress, that Negroes were attacking the police. They were angry with the newsmen for not saying why there was this riot, what the grievances of the people were, how it had all started . . . the white reporters couldn't understand (the resentment of the blacks) . . . they identify him (the newsman) with the white press which in their mind ignores Negroes except when they commit crimes, slants what stories it does print and systematically works with the (police) to keep the lid clamped on. The newsman thought he was a hero. The black man thought he was a villain.

This is how Conot sets the stage for an event whose image probably still lives in the minds of all journalists who saw the next day's wirephotos. It was the photo of the burning of KNXT's overturned mobile unit.

Since much of our discussion in this conference is likely to focus on the hiring and promotion of minorities—or more to the point, the lack thereof—I thought it important to go back and find that precise moment in time, August 11, 1965, to which virtually every working black journalist in America today owes his or her employment. It was that frightful scene in south central Los Angeles that made most editors across the country aware for the first time that there might be any imperative for even the token desegregation of their newsrooms. Something like that incident would occur in nearly every major city in which there was an uprising. The smart editors had received the earlier message from Watts and had a black reporter or so in place. The slower ones promoted a copy aide, a librarian's assistant, in one instance a circulation truck driver, and gave them spontaneous battlefield commissions as reporters. In hardly any instance was their assignment to sit in the office and interpret what was happening and help answer the complaint of the Watts residents by explaining this riot. No, the job was to blend with the crowd and report back to the office so that others could write a story they had not in most instances witnessed and whose causes they could only dimly perceive.

I retrace that early ground because I am still wondering what lessons the press in America can claim to have learned in the decade since the Kerner Commission complained that, "the journalistic profession has been shockingly backward in seeking out, hiring, training and promoting Negroes."

As you already are aware, the American Society of Newspaper Editors tried to count brown noses among the 40,000 newsroom professionals in 1972, seven years after Watts and four years after Kerner. It was able to find 253 for sure. It threw in another 50 for good measure and concluded that seven-tenths of one percent of all the journalists practicing in America that year were not white. ASNE went back a year later and found the number had declined and it gave up the count. To my knowledge, no such census has been attempted since, although I understand, as of yesterday, that there is a new book out called *The Newspeople* that has some new numbers on the topic that show some improvement, but yet overall, I think we could still say that the number of nonwhite reporters remains dismal and no one to my knowledge has attempted to count the number of nonwhites writing editorials, running city desks, running foreign staffs or even choosing the pictures for page one. It's a larger number than it was at the time of Watts, but to say so is merely to say that any estimate now would have to be called a zero-based comparison.

What is my reason for this concern? What does it matter if there are no minority group members to speak of helping to present the news each day? Am I merely pleading for jobs for nonwhite writers? Partly, quite honestly, it is true that I am concerned to see my gifted brothers and sisters have an opportunity to work at the craft they love, but I will confess to a larger interest. I am concerned about the future of America. I happen to agree with the Kerner Commission when it said, "By failing to portray the Negro as a matter of routine and in the context of the total society, the news media have . . . contributed to the black-white schism in this country."

Long before Kerner, Walter Lippmann said it was the responsibility of the daily newspaper to see to it that its readers are not surprised by events. Few newspaper readers could say that the urban events of the 1960s came as anything but a sudden and searing shock. We all remember the story told of James M. Roche, the head of General Motors standing on the roof of the G. M. building above Detroit in summer 1967, watching the flames in utter dismay that such savage forces were at work in his city. It need not have been. Charlayne Hunter of the New York *Times* would later put it this way:

> As black reporters, we know where the errors of omission occurred; know that if we had been given the chance all along to write what we knew, no one would have been surprised at Harlem, 1964; Watts, 1965; Newark and Detroit, 1967; Washington, 1968 and hundreds of other ignited cities. . .

As much as I might be concerned about the effects of segregation and bigotry in the news on blacks, I am even more concerned about its effects on the whole of our society. This schism to which Kerner referred is indeed a serious matter. The conditions that led to those uprisings were there, as Miss Hunter said, for anyone who cared to see to document and explain long before there was a Harlem or a Watts. A few newspapers did a few pieces, but only a few. So the vast majority of white Americans was left to suppose that for no particular reason a bunch of blacks took it into their heads to burn down the city. Eventually, they would hear from Kerner that the cause was "white racism," but as a functional definition of the squalor of everyday urban life that designation leaves much to be desired, and much to the imagination. And there's more, more that isn't about urban squalor.

Kerner hints at it in a phrase. It says the news media, "have not shown understanding or appreciation of—and thus have not communicated—a sense of Negro culture, thought or history."

Which brings *Roots* to mind as just another event for which the average American was not prepared. So many whites have since confided that they didn't know before exactly how blacks got here. They just hadn't really thought about it. And, of course, as Kerner said a decade ago—still largely true—there is not much to read of black history and black culture in the average American newspaper. Perhaps a big splash on the Sunday before Negro History Week, but if you happened to be out of town that weekend, you missed the black contribution until some future February.

So we have a case of double-barreled misconceptions. The whites have no notion on one hand of what it is like to live in today's inner city because our newspapers do so little to bring that fact alive. On the other hand, the positive aspects of black American history and culture are obscured for much the same reasons—because in all too many instances there is no black in a position to help shape a product so that it reflects accurately all the disparate elements that make up our society. The whites get to be surprised by riots and by *Roots*, never understanding beforehand about the true nature of either.

That, as I see it, is the way it has been, but it need not be that way for all time. That is why I am pleased to be here to partake in this discussion, and why I think Michigan is doing such an important thing in holding a conference on this subject. It is my belief that Watts and the other rebellions shook the nation's news media out of a state of unreality with respect to racial matters. Ours is a business that thrives on its criticism of the shortcomings of others while rarely examining its own. I do not think it too much to suggest that we have come this far by fear, fear of physical danger in a riot, fear of being beaten by that other news organization with a black staff member who might edge us out on a racial story. The question is whether such inauspicious beginnings can be transformed into concerted effort to be as fully representative of the total society as we possibly can be.

Since the 1960s, change has come to other fields that once were segregated. Many of my colleagues believe journalism, even while it has changed materially, is behind the times. When Austin Scott resigned from the Associated Press five years ago, he put the problem in a letter to Wes Gallagher this way:

> I marvel every day that there seem to be more black sheriffs, more black businessmen, more black educators and policemen, more black judges, and state legislators, and computer programmers, and salesmen, and heavy equipment operators. But in a nation of 22 million black people, only a couple dozen of us have the potential to make it in the Associated Press. It's funny how talent is distributed. We can sing and dance and hold conventions, but none of us can write.

Mr. Scott, unfortunately, is correct as far as I know in that the news business appears to be lagging behind many other fields in desegregating, especially in the middle and upper ranks. This is not only true insofar as minorities are concerned. I hear the same complaints from women. I also hear something else, sort of blowing in the wind, that concerns me greatly as we look at the future. A task force of the Justice Department came out the other day with a new report on Civil Disorders and Terrorism.[1] It said simply that it could find no evidence that the conditions that brought on the rebellions of the 1960s had changed substantially, and that we should be ready for another round of the same. It stopped short of a flat out prediction. It said, more or less, don't be surprised. It urged that society consider what measures it would employ in dealing with such rebellions if they should recur, and it surmised that we might want to consider suspending a civil liberty or two during the emergency. It didn't mention the Bill of Rights specifically, but that, I suppose, is the thought on which we should ponder for a moment before we get to the question and answer session.

The First Amendment is our charter in journalism. It invites us to be bold in pursuit of the truth and to tell it all when we find it out. It is not the unlimited license that many once thought it to be, but it is still the most extensive invitation to challenge authority known to exist in the world. No other people are so genuinely blessed with the right to raise Ned when the government oversteps its authority—or when we think it has.

When my friends from Africa or Latin America visit us in Washington, one of the first questions they always have concerns this odd device of ours called the First Amendment. I always tell them there is more to it than Watergate, that ours is a system of structured liberty with written guarantees against self-incrimination, against illegal search and seizure, and for due process of law and equal protection under the Constitution.

And as I wind my way through this exciting 200-year-long story, I am aware of the exceptions that require to be enumerated. None so saddens me as when I must tell how this fearsome press, imbued with unparalleled liberty, remains one of the most segregated institutions in American life today. Think about those 250 or 300 newsroom professionals about whom we spoke in the beginning. At this very moment 10 percent of them are on one newspaper, The Washington *Post*. It has more than 25 nonwhite newsroom professionals. The New York *Times* has about 20. The Chicago papers probably a dozen or more. In other words, when you take the major metropolitan newspapers out of the 300, you may have 200 nonwhites remaining for the other 1,700 newspapers in the land. And when you consider that the traditional training ground for journalism careers is the small-town newspaper, you can see where this problem begins and where it must be solved, if it is ever to be solved at all.

[1]National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, *Disorders and Terrorism: Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism* (Washington, D.C.: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, December 1976).

We in the Summer Program at Berkeley have made the small-town paper our area of special concern for the very reasons I have outlined. And I think we should work as hard and care as much about solving this problem regardless of whether there is ever another round of urban uprisings. We should try to crack this case because the quality of democracy requires that we understand the nature of the society in which we live. I contend, and will contend for as long as I live, that it is impossible for all Americans to understand what they should about each other if only some kinds of Americans get to control the telling of that story. In their gross and angry way, that is what the residents of Watts were trying to articulate when they tipped over that KNXT station wagon and set it afire. If ever there was a symbol of our failure to communicate, that picture says it for me. And I cannot help but believe that if we learn to deal with the lessons of that failure, we may not have to relive that grim history, despite the postulations of that Justice Department task force. In that happy event, we will not have to contemplate the suspension of our liberties to accommodate our shortcomings.

Discussion

The high turnover among minority journalists employed since 1968, the frustration from hostile encounters with editors over coverage and assignments, and the lack of progress into middle management, policy-making jobs were the main issues raised in the discussion sparked by Maynard's opening remarks.

"We need to break down some of this stereotypic thinking that goes on on all sides," Maynard declared in describing a "cultural bridge that has to be crossed" so that minorities and non-minorities can recognize and understand each other's values.

Of the 25 minority journalists Maynard knew in 1968, for example, most have left journalism entirely. A few still hold newsroom jobs. Maynard deplored the lack of hard data on minority newsroom employment, but said it was his impression that most who left were frustrated.

"Once the riot was over, it was the attitude of an awful lot of editors that minority journalists had done whatever they were wanted for . . . their attempts to reach further and further to cover the minority story were increasingly frustrated." Sometimes that frustration came from the fact that editors had not thought of them as reporters all along, and sometimes it came because they were not getting the kind of training, exposure, and development that they should have been getting.

"The industry has to find ways to deal with these problems," Maynard said. "Helping get people into middle management where the editor can be somewhat more sensitive than many of the editors have been in the past will help some," he added. "We lose an awful lot of people because they just don't understand the attitudes of white editors who don't recognize the value of the minority story the journalist wants to tell."

And sometimes there are communications problems over very ordinary things. Maynard recalled the example of a young black reporter who was being given a hard time by an assistant city editor. The young man finally went to the managing editor who had hired him and said, "Hey, I don't know what's going on here, but I can't exchange two words with this man without having a big fight." The editor was consulted and it turned out that he thought the reporter was a member of a white-hating cult because of a piece of jewelry he wore. It was only jewelry without further significance, and they eventually worked out their problem. "I simply point to that as a ludicrous example and yet a not uncommon depiction of the problem of communication," Maynard emphasized.

"As a young minority journalist you start out with a regard for your culture and your community and you bring that along to your work. The problem is that many white editors say: 'O.K., you start over here with that view of yourself; I start out with a view of you that's very different. If you want to work here, you've got to cross that bridge and come over entirely to this view.' "

"The minority says, 'Let's meet in the middle, because that way I can tell you some negative things I notice about your community as well.' And that's when communication breaks down totally, in many instances," Maynard said. "There's no way to arrange a place to meet that is reasonably honorable and honest for both the reporter and the editor, where they can actually discuss their differences and find out what it is they agree about."

The emphasis in the Kerner Plus 10 Conference and in Maynard's speech was on finding that place in the interest of improving the news media's performance in reporting the total community.

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Education, Training, and Employment

Panelists:

Robert C. Maynard, Director
Berkeley Summer Program for Minority Journalists
member, editorial board, The Washington Post.
Pam McAllister-Johnson, lecturer-counselor
University of Wisconsin-Madison
William Worthy, director
Afro-Journalism Duo-Degree Program
Boston University
John D. Stevens, director
The University of Michigan
Journalism M.A. program
Booth Minority Scholars
Al Fitzpatrick, managing editor
Akron Beacon Journal.
Mal Johnson, director of community affairs
Cox Broadcasting Corporation
Washington, D.C.

The news media must attract, train, and employ more minorities and promote those who are qualified to positions of significant responsibility, the Kerner Commission declared. Recruitment should begin in high schools and continue through college, and, where necessary, aid for training should be provided.

The late 1960s saw a flurry of minority training programs, workshops, scholarships, and grants aimed at making a fast increase in the number of minority journalists in the nation's newsrooms as editors responded to the Kerner Commission's recommendations.

Despite an early spurt in the hiring of minorities to report for daily news organizations, by 1974 there had been a leveling off in hiring and this trend continued in 1977. The best estimate available was that as of 1977 minorities still made up less than one percent of the 40,000 professional print journalists in the nation and three percent of the broadcast journalists.

Pressures from a sluggish economy, a declining sense of urgency regarding minority hiring and increased pressure from women and non-minority students for the newsroom jobs, all pointed to an even tighter and tougher job market for minorities in the future.

And yet the number of blacks in journalism schools had risen to 3.8 percent of the total enrollment in 1975 and remained there in 1976. Minority faces were more visible on local and network newscasts as working professionals and as identifiable role models. High school urban journalism workshops and visits by journalism professionals to minority schools continued. Some training programs had ceased; others had started, and a variety of educational approaches had evolved.

This panel was assembled with the charge to look at these varying approaches and programs, to comment on what had been accomplished and speculate about the needs for the future.

The education of minority journalism students today takes many forms. Students may attend all-black colleges which have programs in journalism or communications, or they may attend journalism schools in large universities. Some obtain professional internships or enter a specialized summer training program.

Although the early response was to create separate minority journalism programs and minority internships, the direction today is toward the inclusion of minority students into regular journalism programs. Sensitive schools set up counseling and other support services plus special-interest courses (such as the black press) to make sure that the unique and specific needs of minority students are being met.

The Columbia Program for Minority Journalists at Columbia Graduate School of Journalism in New York City lasted for seven summers, and in the process trained 230 minority men and women in basic skills of print and broadcast journalism and succeeded in placing them in media jobs. By 1974, when the program lost its funding and support, it had produced nearly 20 percent of the total number of minority journalists then working in the media.

The Columbia program, established in response to the Kerner Commission's charge in 1968 to increase the training and hiring of minority newspeople, was directed by Fred Friendly, Ford Foundation consultant and former CBS News president, and sponsored by CBS, Columbia, NBC, and the Ford Foundation. For 11 weeks, the trainees were given intensive training in print and broadcast techniques and guaranteed job/internships at the completion of the course.

After a lapse of two years, the program was revived in 1976 as the Summer Program for Minority Journalists at the University of California at Berkeley. Although it trains minority journalists for print journalism only, it follows the Columbia plan and is supervised by professional journalists who were associated with the New York program. A Gannett Newspaper Foundation grant provided initial funding, and additional support comes from gifts and other foundations.

Students in the Berkeley program average 25 years of age and have either completed college or held a variety of jobs. The program is not a substitute for college; it is for people who have writing skills, the determination to succeed in journalism, and who have tried to break down the barriers of admission to media jobs, but have not succeeded. They come from a variety of racial minorities.

The summer program keeps students writing and reporting under deadline conditions from the first day until the end of the eleventh week. The students publish a weekly paper, and at the end of their training go into pre-arranged internships on small city dailies (under 100,000 circulation).

Robert C. Maynard, the program director, believes that experience on a small daily is essential for the new journalist. It has traditionally been the training ground for beginners, and it offers the best opportunity for a variety of reporting experiences plus closer supervision.

But the editors of these newspapers often resist Maynard's requests for internships. They frequently point out that they have few or no blacks in their communities, so they don't need any on their staffs. Failure to see this as a national rather than local problem is one difficulty that will have to be overcome. "Until we open up that avenue, it is going to be very hard to bring the numbers of minority journalists along to the degree that they must be brought along," Maynard declared.

The University of Wisconsin pioneered a fresh approach to minority journalism education with its lecturer-counselor plan developed by Pam McAllister-Johnson in 1969. A graduate of the university, she returned there after working at the Chicago *Tribune* and started the program for minorities. The number jumped from 6 to 50 in her first year of recruiting. She never had to recruit after that. She recommends the lecturer-counselor approach where one professional journalist serves both functions, because it provides a professional role model and an educational model at the same time. The same individual can offer a

sympathetic ear or stern prodding to students as needed.

The Wisconsin students of color organized their own student journalists group which sponsored workshops, speakers, and job-seeking skills sessions. The group helped develop student responsibility and encouraged professionalism.

The emphasis at Wisconsin shifted later to the graduate level because their M.A. students had a better chance of obtaining professional journalism jobs following graduation. Wisconsin also brought blacks and other minorities back to graduate school in order to train them to be teachers of journalism.

The Booth Minority Scholars program at The University of Michigan offers another philosophy for large universities. Michigan's professional education for journalism is at the M.A. level, and the program is small. Up to twenty-four students are admitted each fall for a three-term program, and five places are reserved for Booth minority applicants.

The program is funded by the equal opportunity awards from the University and the Booth Newspapers of Michigan, explained John D. Stevens, head of the graduate program at the Department of Journalism. The unusual aspect of this program, Stevens pointed out, is that not only is there scholarship assistance to students, who are recruited from Michigan and from the nation's black colleges, but there is a summer internship at the end of the first year and a guaranteed year of work at the completion of the M.A. for students who make satisfactory progress. The university provides additional scholarship assistance and financial aid.

The Booth newspapers, a group of Michigan small urban dailies (recently purchased by S. I. Newhouse) developed the program in order to attract minority journalists to their staffs. They hope that most of these new journalists will remain with the Booth papers after their post-M.A. work.

"We think the program is one that could be repeated throughout the country," Stevens said. "It combines the advantages of including minorities in the regular journalism program with the vital internships that give them professional experience plus the possibility of a job at the end of their training."

Boston University opened an entirely new kind of program in the fall of 1976 with its duo-degree master's program in Afro-Journalism and Public Communications. Under an NEH grant, Dr. William Worthy has developed a program open to all students that he hopes will improve the racial news coverage in the country by providing reporters with the historical, social, political, and economic basis for understanding urban and racial news.

"The country has displayed an almost unbelievable myopia going back to World War II when the massive migration of blacks from the South began," he said. "We are seeing today the impact of that migration in every day's stories, and unsophisticated journalists, whether they are editors, news directors, or journalism educators for that matter, are a social menace. Because it's then a case of the blind leading the blind."

Worthy believes his program will acquaint journalism students with the structure of our society and the nature of our institutions plus give them an in-depth understanding of social issues. They will be able to interpret and explain the urban and racial news so that citizens will be informed, as Walter Lippmann said they ought to be, and not "surprised" by events.

Broadcast and newspaper managements responded to the need for minority newsroom employees in several ways. Typically in riot cities and urban areas with large minority populations, the news media were quick to hire or promote minorities and to use them to cover the exploding social problems signaled by protest demonstrations, sit-ins, and riots.

Because of licensing regulations and challenges by minorities and women, the broadcast organizations have been encouraged or forced to develop affirmative action hiring and promotion policies. The print news media were slower to take this course and many had to be prodded by groups of employees, citizens' groups, and the unions.

"Still today, television and radio are dominated by male, middle- and upperclass men," Mal Johnson pointed out. "But there have been increases in minority hiring."

"Blacks have made some progress," she said, "but the great push of the 1960s is all over, for several reasons. The social climate has really changed a great deal. The pressure points are really different right now. There is a noticeable retrenching of effort constantly to accommodate minorities in this country, and it is totally unpopular not to be doing that. But looking at the practical side, we see that the regulatory agencies are mandating the hiring policies in this business."

Advocacy groups, citizens' groups, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the FCC have been responsible for a lot of the changes. "Dialogues began with hostility and suspicion on both parts, but in more than a few instances the management and the citizens' groups were able to come to an understanding," said Johnson. The idea of hiring quotas seems to bother both sides, management and minorities, but of course the whole thing had to start somewhere. Affirmative action policies in hiring and training are still not altogether satisfactory, but have contributed greatly to the increase in minority hiring and in training.

"Now in 1977, we are looking at another level of the problem. Broadcasting does not lend itself to mass hiring at all. There will never be a place for all the people who are being turned out of the journalism schools to come into the business. And we've also come to realize that blacks don't necessarily need to be the ones in the newsroom assigned to cover so-called black stories. They want an even distribution of story assignments."

Internships in broadcasting are offered, and professional broadcasters visit journalism schools for workshops and conferences. "But the problem today is that minorities who have been in the business for

several years need to be moved up," she declared. "The pipeline is clogged. How are those who are now at entry level ever going to move up if the pipeline is not unclogged? The room is really at the top. So, the indictment of broadcasters comes not in their hiring practices, so much as in their promotion, programming, and policy-making positions. A few of the networks are starting middle-management training programs, but the pace is too slow."

"Employment and promotion of minorities in the media is not only a national moral obligation," she added, "but the nation is also beginning to realize that our prosperity increasingly demands a maximum use of the entire staff of human power in this country, and hiring women and minorities can show a positive bottom line result.

Johnson recommended that the educators provide their students with a broad base in the humanities and social sciences. "The anchor stars are dying out, and people taking their places are going to be specialists and experts in a variety of subjects," she predicted. "These will be the people who interpret the news, who explain the issues and develop the ideas. And the American public will demand that kind of news. They are asking for more, and they will demand more. We have to be prepared to plan it for them, and the professors will have to be able to prepare the students for this kind of journalism."

Newspaper groups have instituted minority training and internship programs as well as middle-management training sessions that include minorities. The approach taken by the Knight-Ridder newspapers, according to Al Fitzpatrick, is to recruit minority candidates from campuses throughout the country and place them in minority training programs on the group's newspapers.

These candidates face a battery of interviews and tests in order to determine what additional training is needed. The one-year program is designed to sharpen their reporting and writing skills and to instill confidence. Each trainee works on action line, lifestyle, Sunday, and metropolitan sections and receives regular progress appraisals. When the candidate has completed the training, he or she is eligible for a full-time position at one of the Knight-Ridder papers.

"Several trainees have moved on to better jobs at larger newspapers," Fitzpatrick said, "and we think the program has been successful. But we can't let up in seeking appropriate numbers of minorities for our staffs."

"One thing I insist on as the managing editor at the Akron *Beacon Journal* is that the trainees are treated fairly, but that all judgment made as to performance is done in an objective way. I don't want anyone to feel they have to say a candidate is qualified when he or she isn't."

Black employment on his staff is 11.7 percent, not so high a figure, he said, but that is a major increase from 21 years ago when he was the only black in the building. And the minority journalists are given all kinds of assignments. "It's our philosophy that news has no color. It is not the racial origin or the cultural difference that determines how we're going to cover the news."

Discussion

"Discrimination in employment is not the result of random acts of malevolence," Maynard said, quoting Herbert Hill, labor director of the NAACP. "It does not usually occur because of individual bigotry, but rather it is the consequence of systematic, institutionalized patterns that are rooted in the society."

What seems necessary for the future, summed up one of the conference participants, "is a gradual and natural redefinition of news as we absorb into our journalistic culture people who are neither white, middle-class, nor male."

"What we are really dealing with is not necessarily just the elements of job opportunity or training opportunity or even institutional racism, commitments that are all very real, but what we are dealing with at bottom is the very definition of journalism—a definition that was framed over a relatively short history by white, male, middle-class people," observed Richard Townley, news director of WCMH-TV in Columbus.

Journalism requires technical skills and judgmental ability, added Nancy Hicks of the New York *Times*. "The issue is not whether or not the minority groups coming into the system have the skills necessary to write a lead or handle a story on deadline, but it's how do you call the story? The issue of *quality* seems to keep rotating around whether or not the person who comes from one background will see the issues and judge what they are the same way as one from a different background."

"What we should be doing is increasing the different kinds of people who make those judgments, especially in the afternoon news conferences. You have different people with different perceptions, and therein the standard is set, which is not necessarily lower; it's different and probably more representative," she said.

People are not going to change their perceptions overnight, but what the panel and the discussion seem to be suggesting, added Townley, "is the need for the industry as a whole to have greater infusions of minorities and women at a variety of levels in order to make that redefinition of journalism happen naturally through working together. It's a much trickier problem than just getting X number of bodies in X number of places."

Several suggestions for future improvement were proposed during the discussion:

1. Continue pressure to break down the entry barriers for minorities by increased recruiting of minority students for college journalism programs, and inclusion of minority students in mainstream journalism schools rather than in segregated programs.

2. Exert pressure on broadcast and print news managements to develop mid-career management training programs that will move minorities into policy-making jobs.

3. Establish a three-way partnership of newspaper management, broadcast management, and universities for special education programs ranging from one- and two-day seminars to one- to four-week

programs to supplement the lamentably few year-long mid-career programs for professional journalistic advancement.

4. Set up a system to monitor and aid students obtaining their first job and successive jobs. Follow-up by offering students who were unable to land a job, additional intensive skills training that would bring them up to an acceptable level for employment.

5. Establish a national clearing house for jobs and internships available for minorities. Insure that all schools establish a central place for students to seek and find this information. "Still Here," published by AEJ's minority committee and Howard University's School of Communications provides this service, but many schools do not know about it.

6. Improve the interaction and cross-pollination between professional news organizations and journalism schools through more internships, conferences, and visits, lectures, and guest teaching and critic service from the professionals. Teachers should be encouraged by news organizations to return for summer or other "Professional Educator Internships."

7. Attract more minorities to the existing mid-career fellowship programs such as the Nieman program at Harvard, and the NEH Journalism Fellowships at The University of Michigan and Stanford.

8. Establish job-getting skills sessions for students to make them more proficient in the art of job interviewing, resumé writing, and backgrounding on the media organization and policies of prospective employers.

9. Start pre-college summer media and study skills workshops for college-bound youngsters whose skills are not up to par.

10. Expand efforts to attract youngsters to media studies through High School Summer Journalism Workshops and Journalist on Campus programs.

11. Expand student awareness of and knowledge about the wide range of jobs in communications, including those in the technical and support areas as well as jobs in government and research. This might be done through career conferences, career counseling, and classroom discussion.

KERNER
PLUS 10

A Failure to Communicate

Panelists:

Dave White
news director
WJR Radio

*Ben Burns
assistant managing editor
Detroit News
*Dave Cooper
editorial writer
Detroit Free Press

*Burns and Cooper were substitute panelists filling in for two Detroit newsmen

"A failure to communicate" was the broad charge levelled against the news media by the Kerner Commission Report. Specifically, it said the media were not doing an adequate job of reporting on race relations in America or on the problems in the nation's black ghettos.

In this conference session we focused on local news coverage in Detroit. By tracing the trends and methods of coverage from 1967 to the present, we hoped to identify the significant changes in the way the media have covered the city's black population over the last decade.

Detroit is the nation's fifth largest city and was one of the hardest hit areas in the 1967 riots. Forty-three deaths and property damage estimated in excess of 32 million dollars resulted from the rioting, looting, and burning that occurred over a five-day period in July, 1967. Today, Detroit is a city of 1.3 million, about 52 percent black, and is a classic case of the large urban center in crisis. It is beset with problems arising from its economy, high unemployment, poor housing, crime, and declining support from some quarters of its business community.

Panelists White and Cooper were both working newsmen during the riots, and have been in positions to observe the coverage of minorities in the ensuing years.

Cooper works for the *Free Press*, a newspaper that received high praise from the Commission for publishing an exceptional post-riot analysis of local Negro attitudes and grievances.

All three panelists were asked to describe their organizations' methods of covering the city's minority community, to cite efforts by their managements to put some of the Kerner recommendations into practice, and to describe the results of those efforts.

In general, the panel concluded that substantial changes have occurred within the Detroit news media over the last decade. They cited in particular, better reporting tools and techniques, more enterprise reporting, and less dependency on government-originated stories, increased sensitivity to minority group problems, and editorial policies that are more supportive of progressive and liberal issues.

On the question of staff they said the employment picture had improved for minorities in their organizations since 1967. They also noted that even though the number of black staff members had increased, in some cases from zero, there are still too few minority people in policy and decision-making positions.

In the panel's opinion overall news coverage of Detroit's black population improved in the post-Kerner period, but it still remains inadequate.

In its report, the Kerner Commission said that most news organizations had no direct access to diversified news sources in the black community, and seldom had a sense of what is going on there.

Unfamiliarity with the black population continues to be at least one reason for inadequate coverage, in the view of panelist Burns.

"I would say that we probably know and understand the story of the fighting in Beirut, Lebanon, between the Christians and Moslems better than we know the average problem of the black in Detroit. I don't think we're really acquainted with those people. Certainly we're covering black stories and minority stories. . . . But I think that the people who we talk to most of the time are the literate, the frustrated, the angry, the intelligent, the educated. I don't think we're really even getting at the people out there who are the frustrated masses, the concerned, the people who feel that nobody gives a damn."

Other factors restricting the upgrading of minority news coverage, the panel said, included the need for more staffers who are willing to go into the community in search of stories, limited space and airtime for in-depth, non-headline type news stories, and difficulties in keeping experienced staff members.

One problem, perhaps more difficult to handle than some of the others mentioned, is the dilemma major newspapers and broadcast organizations face in trying to serve wide audiences that have different and often competing interests.

For the Detroit media it is frequently a question of how much newspaper space or broadcast time can an organization devote to inner city news and how much to suburban news?

For instance, the daily circulation of the Detroit *Free Press* breaks down roughly one third outstate, one third in the Detroit suburbs, and one third in the city of Detroit. And each readership group feels it is not getting the coverage it needs or wants. Cooper said he has had readers in Grand Rapids tell him they would like the paper better "if it didn't spend so much time covering Detroit." And he questions whether there are too many Detroit stories on the "local page" of the Sunday edition. "I kind of wonder are we really serving our whole readership, or the whole state with that kind of thing? On the other hand, I think Detroit is very, very important. And the black community is very, very important."

The city vs. suburb dilemma of the *Free Press* is shared by the Detroit *News*. According to Burns, the circulation departments figure out where they can sell the paper and who they can sell it to. "They tell you you're serving various readerships. And it's very difficult for you to say, 'we're going to really cover the black community in Detroit and we're going to ignore the suburbanites because . . .an awful lot of the Detroit *News* circulation is in the suburbs.' And what you get in the long run is that you try to balance many things, and you wind up serving them all slightly inadequately."

The tug-of-war between city and suburban interests was also cited by WJR Radio's White: "In general we are getting more complaints than we used to from suburbia that we are covering the city as if it were the only thing we're interested in. And I have to admit that we do very poorly on the suburbs for the same kinds of reasons Dave Cooper laid out."

In addition, the coverage complaints from some Detroit readers often are not about the amount, but the *kind* of news that gets reported. Cooper said that blacks he knows, including the Mayor, think Detroit newspapers spend too much time covering crime: "that the press gives a false image of the city."

The problems that affect and often influence efforts to improve minority coverage are common to

both newspapers and broadcast organizations. But as Mal Johnson of Cox Broadcasting pointed out, radio and television stations, unlike newspapers, are licensed and subject to federal regulation. They are legally mandated, as newspapers are not, to show how they have attempted to identify—and address in their programming—the problems and concerns of their audiences.

It was in the post-Kerner period that broadcasters were required to go into the communities of their coverage areas and identify, catalogue, and rank the problems mentioned most often in their viewer/listener surveys. Those problems and concerns were then supposed to be covered at least once during the year in news, public affairs programs, documentaries, or some other programming.

The minority affairs director and the community affairs director were another innovation following the Kerner report, she added. "That person was supposed to (be) a part of the community and could uncover those forgotten people and those unknown problems."

QUESTION: One recommendation made by Kerner was to devise some means of establishing better contacts within the community. What has happened along those lines?

COOPER: I think we are far more responsive today in terms of sensing some problems and going out on our own rather than waiting for government to do it. But I would not begin to try and imply that we are as sensitive as I think we ought to be. I think we are better equipped. I think we have better reporting techniques and more skillful reporting to go out and to do investigative reporting of community problems, whether it's in the area of drugs, or narcotics, or pollution, or economics, or unemployment, or so forth. But I don't think that we have changed all that much. I'm fairly pessimistic about what's happened.

WHITE: I would certainly agree. The only thing that I could say that has happened at our shop (WJR Radio) is that we had what was in 1967 an all white male news staff of 11 people. Now there is a staff of 15, of whom the last four are two blacks and two women. One of the black reporters came from the black newspaper. He came equipped with an awful lot of contacts and an awful lot of sensitivity and a personal history of having lived in Detroit since birth. That has been helpful to us. But not everything he reports gets into the newscast, even today. Considerably more does than did three years ago when he was new on our staff.

QUESTION: Gentlemen, my name is Sam Murray. I'm a law student and former reporter for WABC-TV. It appears to me that you have a bit of an advantage over your predecessors of a decade ago, if only that you know what Kerner said, and they at least had the so-called excuse that this was a surprise to them. But it's not clear to me, exactly what is being done aside from hiring a few black people and the coverage of certain black stories?

COOPER: I don't know that I have an easy answer for that. If we have carried story after story about the economic plight of the unemployed in Detroit, which largely means blacks and young blacks, what is our responsibility beyond pointing that out and editorially trying to get those things done in the society that would alleviate that?

QUESTION: I would like to preface my remarks by calling everybody's attention to the old phrase that the more things change, the more they remain the same. I'm not so much interested in the quality of coverage as I am in who's making the decisions about who's going to do the covering. . . . I want to know why more people haven't been hired who are non-Caucasian? Who's making the decisions, what's going to have to occur in the general community, or in a depression in order to get a redistribution of the decision-making opportunities where race is concerned?

COOPER: Well, I'll be perfectly frank. I think that we have not hired enough blacks.

WHITE: The last time I had an opening on my staff because of EEO (Equal Employment Opportunity) considerations, I advertised in both daily newspapers, in the *Michigan Chronicle* (a black-owned newspaper), in *Broadcasting* magazine. We sent the job description through our company, to all the other stations and newspapers our company owns. It went to RTNDA's (Radio Television News Directors Association) newsletter, to the NOW organization, NAACP and the Urban League, and I had something like only 35 responses, only two of whom were minorities. So, I don't really mean to turn the question around but I would like to have somebody tell me what more we can do? Where else can we look for the people?

Community News Service: An Experiment in Minority Journalism

by Annette Samuels, editor, CNS

The Kerner Commission recommended that a privately organized, privately funded Institute of Urban Communications be established by the media as a means for implementing its recommendations for education, training, and placement of minority journalists and improved coverage of minority news and communities. An urban affairs service was to be established to investigate, report, and interpret news from the black and other communities.

The Institute was never established.

The Community News Service in New York City was. Under the auspices of The New School for Social Research in New York, with a $375,000 grant from the Ford Foundation and with Philip Horton, formerly executive editor of *Reporter* magazine, as director, the Urban Reporting Project was to establish a dialogue between mass media in New York and the black and Spanish-speaking residents.

Community News Service opened in 1970, and six years later closed its doors, citing lack of funds and lack of interest as reasons. What had been accomplished?

CNS produced a daily file and calendar five days a week. Bureaus were established in Harlem, Central Brooklyn, and South Bronx. News gathered from these bureaus was fed into a central bureau first located in the Twelfth Street offices of The New School for Social Research. The information was mimeographed and delivered by messenger to media and other subscribers every afternoon.

Media organizations, community organizations, and corporations became charter subscribers. Among them: CBS-TV; CBS Radio; WNBC-TV; The New York *Times*; The New York *Daily News*; The *Amsterdam News*; The New York *Voice*; WLIB Radio; WOR-TV; American Airlines; New York Telephone Co.; Hunts Point Community Corporation; Brownsville Community Center; New York Urban Coalition; and the East Harlem Community Corporation.

With that kind of support it was believed that CNS could not fail. It would build itself into a meaningful and viable institution and even possibly serve as a model for the establishment of organizations like it throughout the country. "Black was beautiful," and CNS couldn't miss. The editor, George Barner, stated guardedly in an interview with *Time* magazine in August, 1970, that "barring mishaps we should hang in."

The organization had been conceived and organized by whites. The original plan was to turn management and control of CNS over to the minority communities. This was not to be an easy process. Staff—mostly minorities—was suspicious of management and the board of directors, which was mostly white and mostly members of the staff of The New School for Social Research. But by May, 1971, CNS was under the control of a minority board of directors and its main office had been moved to 125th Street in Harlem.

Despite the internal changes, CNS's staff had established solid beats and its news releases were being used for lead stories in New York newspapers and on radio and television.

CNS first reported on the occupation of Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx by the Young Lords, a militant Puerto Rican group prominent in the early 70's, and it uncovered facts about New York's scandal-ridden Municipal Loan Program for the rehabilitation of slum housing. CNS scooped everyone when Candido de Leon was appointed president of a South Bronx community college, making him the first Puerto Rican to head a U.S. college.

More recently CNS alerted its clients to impending demonstrations by youngsters who had not been paid during a summer work program in Harlem. CNS also provided the lead for a story which the New York *Daily News* developed on the changing small business ownership patterns from Jewish to Arab in Brooklyn's Bedford/Stuyvesant area.

But by November, 1971, CNS was in dire financial straits. Without additional funding or an increase of its subscriber base, its organizers thought it would have to close its doors. Humberto Cintron, then executive editor, was optimistic. "I think CNS is at a turning point. We've proved ourselves as a news team. We've also demonstrated that this kind of service is vitally needed in New York. Nobody else is providing it."

Media editors at the time agreed that CNS was providing a valuable service. The New York *Times* was using CNS stories for leads and sources to increase its coverage of minority communities. Television news directors checked out the stories and found CNS leads generally stood up.

But funding was continually a problem. In 1971, when CNS severed its relationship with The New School for Social Research and established its board of directors composed of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, it became that board's function to raise funds. The members had little experience in fund-raising and lacked contacts with white organizations that had both money and contacts. Although the subscribers contributed about $80,000 a year for the service, the CNS annual budget was about $200,000. The Ford Foundation continued to be the greatest supporter, granting over $700,000 to CNS during the six-year period.

Other problems plagued the service as well. CNS never had full-time sales, promotional and marketing personnel to develop programs for the organization. That meant that the executive editor was responsible for fund-raising, sales, promotion, and marketing plus the day-to-day operation of the news service.

In an effort to increase revenues in 1973, CNS sought to establish a radio feed service. No feasibility studies were done. No marketing or promotion strategies were devised. Money from the already meager coffers was used to establish the project. After a few weeks of operation that program failed.

The Ford Foundation provided an outside consultant to aid in fund-raising and publicity. CNS

became better known in the corporate world, but the results of this campaign were minimal.

So in November, 1976, CNS faced the hard fact that closing was the only answer. Foundation money and grants had dried up and the subscription base had dwindled from an all-time high of 74 in 1973 to 30 in 1976. This was partially caused by the closing down of community-based organizations funded during the "war on poverty" in 1973 and cutbacks in expenditures by the communications media during the recession.

Those involved with CNS from its inception saw it as an experimental project. The idea was to determine whether such an organization was really needed and whether it would work. It would, but it needed money.

In addition to the news service and coverage CNS had provided, it also served as a valuable training ground for a number of minority journalists. CNS numbers among its alumni: Ronald Smothers, reporter, The New York *Times*; Clinton Cox, staff writer, New York *Daily News*; Leon Pitt, reporter, Chicago *Sun-Times*; Barbara Flack, producer, Channel 2, "The People"; Leandra Abbot, public relations, Con Edison; Audrey Edwards, promotion editor, Fairchild Publications; Emile Milne, public relations, Continental Group; and Priscilla Chatman, editor, *Black American*.

Roger Wilkins, a member of the editorial board of the New York *Times*, probably summed up the CNS feelings best of all. In an article in *More* magazine in 1976 he said: "The Black part of the American experience may well be pulled briefly into focus again before it is pressed once more into the back alleys of the mind. But the story won't go away. It just won't be told properly."

KERNER
PLUS 10

Professionalism on Both Side of the Desk

Panelists:

Dorothy Gilliam
associate editor, Style Secion
Washington Post

Bob McBride
station manager
WJBK-TV2

Ben Burns
assistant managing editor
Detroit News

Bill Black
reporter
WJR Radio

Linda Wright Avery
reporter
WXYZ-TV7

The people who rioted in 1967, who gave physical expression to their rage, anger, and frustration, were in their own way communicating a message to the rest of America.

Their actions caught most other Americans off-guard, made them angry and afraid. They had been ill-prepared to understand the "why" of what was happening, and the rioters' message seemed inarticulate, their methods gross.

Few people in the news business were any better prepared than their audiences to translate the language of looting and burning, of desperation and hopelessness.

News organizations that had previously seen no need for blacks on their staffs, turned, as Bob Maynard has said, to a copy aide, a librarian's assistant, a circulation truck driver, and gave them spontaneous battlefield commissions as reporters.

In the weeks and years that followed, every major news organization added a few black people, whom they found in the small ranks of black professionals already in the business, in journalism schools, in journalism training programs, or in other non-news occupations.

Ten years later we look back and ask what the editors were expecting. And what were black men and women who entered the business in the post-Kerner period expecting—for themselves and for the profession, then and now?

Those questions were discussed by our final panel in a session dealing with the expectations, attitudes, and experiences of reporters and editors.

Our panelists were two white editors, two black reporters and a black editor, and former reporter, Dorothy Gilliam, who opened the session by tracing the history of black news people employed by the white press beginning in the 1880s.

Few newspapers were hiring salaried reporters of any race then. And when T. Thomas Fortune, a legendary figure in American journalism and a black editor and writer, tried to get a job at the New York *Evening Sun*, he was told reporters were paid only if their stories were accepted for publication.

Still, Fortune and other blacks sold articles to all of New York's Democratic and Independent papers. It was not until the late 1920s that newsroom doors started opening to blacks when the *World* began hiring full-time black reporters.

The next breakthrough came in the 1940s. Several newspapers, the *Times*, the *Herald Tribune* and the *Post* hired blacks.

By the 1950s, newspapers with large black populations were hiring one, two, or three black reporters per city. The pattern didn't change even with the 1954 Supreme Court decision. In 1955 *Ebony* magazine reported there were only 31 blacks on white newspapers, and so few blacks in broadcasting they didn't bother to take a count.

Very meager numbers were added in the early 1960s. And it was not until the late 1960s, with Watts and Detroit and Washington burning, that white media managers deemed it necessary to hire black reporters to cover at least the urban disorders.

The 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders gave the fullest dimension to date of the need for black newspersons.

After the Kerner Commission spoke, the newspapers had to start plotting from zero to infinite growth. And we are seeing today that that growth has not been very large at all.

GILLIAM: What, you ask, were we all expecting when we went into the media? I think most of the minorities who went into the media were expecting to be treated like reporters. We expected some help from the desk. We expected some racial sensitivity. We expected some intellectual input into defining black issues.

What we found very often was very little help from the desk. Very often we found more help from other reporters than we found from the desk. I think we found a great deal of racial insensitivity, and indeed, entrenched institutional racism. I think we found white supremacy rather alive and well. I looked at some of the reporters who are now on the Washington *Post*, reporters who have done very well, and I walked around and asked them some of these questions so I could relay their feelings back to you. And increasingly I heard from them that they had been expecting some of the things that I have mentioned. But what they found was a sophistication of racism that they had never dreamt of.

I don't have any easy answers about where we go from here, but I do think that some of these issues can be attacked in very systematic ways.

One of the things that was mentioned to me by some of the reporters that I asked about this question was the way blacks were categorized, for one thing. That the black reporter often found himself put in a special category, where there was little attention paid to black issues. And very little of the kind of brainstorming that went on around a general story went on in terms of black stories.

The typical white editor would say, "Here's another press conference that Colonel Hassan has convened, go by and check it out." There was very little conceptualizing about what the issue was.

It seemed to many of them that they were being used as pacification personalities, as sort of agents—black agents for white editors. And they felt they were getting little real satisfaction from what they had been doing.

I think we should ask when we look at where are we going—where are we now? It seems to me that we're in something of a different era. . . . In some of the larger papers, where there are significant numbers of blacks, we seem to be in the age of the cross-over reporter, where the black reporter is often told to cover stories of the white communities, but the cruel joke is that nobody is still paying attention to the black community. So the processes that we talked about still are not being covered.

It seems to me where we are now also is that there is a growing unrest among senior minority journalists. And I think that's one of the questions that we have to deal with, because the effect of the flight of these newsmen, I think, is incalculable in terms of answer-

ing the question of how do we get significant minority perspective on the coverage of the American scene today.

If we accept a cliché that I think has a lot of validity, that newspapers are in a sense writing a first rough draft of history, then the importance of getting the black perspective is of significance not only to blacks, but to the wider audience. And it seems to me that one of the perceptions that is most difficult for whites to understand is what a great stake they have in racial harmony in this country. So it is not enough to simply say that we have done this, or we have done that in terms of pacifying blacks. The real issue has to be that both interests are served, when this job is done and done well.

I think the bottom line . . . is that those of us in the media are finding very few changes in institutional attitudes. We find that very often when responses are positive, it's to the individual raising the question or the issue, not as a genuine response to the problem of black coverage, or the presence of blacks in the media, and it seems that many of the people who were in the media earlier—news people who were created by the civil rights movement—are now beginning to look at alternative careers.

A lot of young colleagues (are) going into law and into other industries because they have found that the frustration makes it difficult to stay in the daily media for any indefinite period of time. But they also don't find that there's any way up, in terms of moving up within the management structure, that there is a limit today on where the trained black journalist can go within the context of the newspaper.

The final thing I would like to address myself to a little bit is what happens in the assignment process with the infusion of a black editor. What does it mean to have a black editor among the others?

In the context of the Style section, I think there are three separate categories. One is just the category of presence. When we sit around and make a decision about what's going to go in the Style section, it is significant to have the presence of a black editor. I think there's very often very specific input in terms of ideas, or very often a tempering of the direction in which a story might go. I think I do see an increasingly hard line on the part of some of my colleagues; that there is less interest in meeting some of the charges of the Kerner Commission.

One of the specific charges that we've talked about is the charge to increase and to renew the interest in black culture—that you cover the *processes* of the community, not merely the crises of the community. It seems to me that there is kind of an increasing conservatism on the part of some people. I think it comes not specifically as a conservative response, but . . . when we start saying, "Well, let's treat everybody the same," that becomes a very convenient cop-out. One of the reasons I wanted to give this history of the relationship of the black reporter to the white media is to say that for most of the years of our history they were not treated the same. Nor was the black community treated the same.

It's only been since Kerner that we talk about treating black reporters and black prospective hires in the black community the same. So I think there are some very subtle, on the one hand and sophisticated on the other hand, elements of racism that we have to deal with.

The term "qualified blacks" is one which rankles many black people in and outside the news business who have heard it used over the years as a smokescreen to conceal discriminatory practices.

Kerner also had something to say on this issue: "The plaint is, 'We can't find qualified Negroes.' But this rings hollow from an industry where, only yesterday, jobs were scarce and promotion unthinkable for a man whose skin was black."

In the view of editor Burns, however, the issue of competency and fitness is one he finds troublesome.

BURNS: Speaking from my view as an editor who has hired for several different newspapers, I see that the various training programs . . . have levelled off. Basically the quality of applicants has levelled off. I am not seeing an increase. And the vast majority of applicants that come to my desk and say they want a job with the newspapers, which I have worked for and have been hiring for, have not actually been qualified to go to work on that newspaper at that point in time.

Since they are not qualified, they don't get hired. I can give you an example: One time I was working at a newspaper where I had the approval of three minority applicants for three minority positions. For each one of those positions I interviewed seven to ten highly recommended applicants who came from journalism schools with recommendations.

Out of those seven to ten, only one or two were basically qualified to start working at a daily newspaper as reporters. To me that is too small a number. I think we need to get that figure up.

I think the journalism schools are doing a disservice to the students, to the profession, and to their own reputations when they get caught in the syndrome of graduating many students—and I know that they're under a great pressure to graduate minorities and have minority programs and graduate more students each year. But I think that when a student comes out of the journalism school he or she should be prepared to at least be considered for a basic job on a daily newspaper or a weekly newspaper.

QUESTION: Could I ask you a quick question? How does that compare with the white applicants you had?

BURNS: I think to a lesser degree it is a problem for all applicants, but it's less of a problem with white applicants than it is with minority applicants. There seems to have been a tendency to crank them through and say, "There, we've graduated them and they're ready to go." And they've taken people, and they send them out into the industry and say they're ready to go. And they're not ready to go.

QUESTION: Sir, I'm not sure I understand, in view of the fact that just recently two black men of limited formal educational experience won Pulitzer Prizes. In view of the fact that there are colleges, many

colleges across the country, turning out thousands of black people who had experience with English, who know the English language and have studied journalism, what is the problem?

BURNS: In view of the facts that you mentioned, they have no relevance at all to the applicants that come to my desk and cannot write a sentence and cannot write a news story. The applicants I have seen coming in and seeking a job are not winning Pulitzer Prizes. They are not even getting jobs in the industry.

QUESTION: But in view of the fact that we're talking of the people who do come to your desk, if the interest is there to hire black people, is there effort on your part to pursue avenues other than universities?

BURNS: In terms of minority hiring programs, certainly. You go out looking for other applicants, and you eventually find the applicant you want. But I think we have to increase the quality levels of more of the minority applicants. And that is my point as an editor. We have to have more of those people coming up to my desk who are qualified for a job. Not as many who are unqualified.

In 1963, the year prior to his joining WJBK-TV2, the CBS affiliate in Detroit, station manager McBride said the news department staff consisted of four and a half white males. (The half represented a part-time employee.)

Four years later the staff had increased to 17. After 1967, things changed according to McBride, because of pressure from organized groups, and he feels, because of an increasing sensitivity.

Currently, the station employs 17 people who appear on the air. Four are black. Of 11 news interns, four are black. The station has 224 employees; blacks number 47.

Since Kerner, the station has added a public relations department whose director and two staff persons are blacks.

Among several "success stories" McBride described is the station's highest paid anchorperson—a black female—who came to Detroit and WJBK with a background of teaching English on television in Japan and had no formal journalism training.

Another of the station's former black female reporters was discovered and hired away from her clerical position with the Wayne County Road Commission.

Linda Wright Avery was a high school student when Kerner released its report in 1968. After graduating from college, she decided to become a reporter and enrolled in the master's program at Columbia University.

WRIGHT AVERY: The first day I was there they had a sort of introductory welcome. The one thing I remember about that day is one of the professors said something to the effect, "Oh, by the way, you people shouldn't be like the last class that was here. They were all worried about the minorities getting all the jobs."

Well you hear something like that, a comment made in passing; it's supposed to be a joke. But it makes you stop and think why it was mentioned at all.

I basically had to learn the technical ropes of TV once I got on the job, because I (don't) think Columbia or any journalism school can really duplicate the actual experience of street reporting and the TV news station.

I expected when I came out of journalism school to get an entry-level job and to have to spend quite a bit of time paying my dues, learning the ropes, learning the technical side of the business.

But there was another expectation . . . after I had mastered writing the tight lead sentence and making a two-hour symposium into a 30-second story that made sense, I expected to go in whatever direction my abilities and my interests led me. And in terms of specializing in minority affairs . . . that was going to be one of many options. I expected to be a reporter and the best reporter I could be and not the best reporter of black stories, or the best black reporter—just a good reporter.

There's a recommendation (Kerner report) that calls for the expansion of coverage of the Negro community and race problems through permanent assignment of reporters who are familiar with urban and racial affairs. By the time I got out of graduate school, specializing or not specializing in minorities or community affairs . . . was a moot point. The nation's economy was tight, and if stations were hiring reporters at all, they were looking for general assignment reporters who could do the job, cover all kinds of stories, and preferably had prior experience.

One thing I learned from the reporters I was in contact with who had been in the business slightly longer was that being a crusader for reporting on minority affairs, or being designated as that permanent minority affairs reporter, could be a sort of dead end because the interest in that was waning and things were moving in a different direction. The bigger issues were becoming women's rights, the economy, the environment, and you sometimes find yourself out in the cold.

What I'm building to is that while the number of minorities you see, and I'm speaking particularly of TV, has grown and will continue to grow . . . I think there's a question among those people who are the out-front troops about what direction we're going in. Whether we really are doing anything differently from the way it was done when the staff was all white reporters.

We may have gotten a better opportunity, a better shake at getting into this business, because of FCC rulings, because of the Kerner report, and riots, and individually there definitely are success stories. . . . But I don't think that we're necessarily helping to make TV news and the media in general more responsive to and reflective of community concerns by our presence.

And the reason for that—our survival—we're surviving in the business because we can live up to and meet the standards and the formats that exist. But we don't influence; we lack influence. The people who

are the reporters and are going out and doing the stories are not management, not editors. We're not the ones making decisions. We're not the assignment editors. We're not at the little meetings in the mornings where the approach to the stories, or even which stories are going to be covered, is hashed out. We do the best with what we get, and that varies to some extent. In TV particularly, reporters are not as independent as they might be at a newspaper. You don't start your day digging up stories that you think might be good to cover. You start the day with a story sheet that has been plotted out by assignment editors. Maybe a suggestion you made is on that sheet, but not necessarily.

There's another section of the Kerner report that calls for promotion of qualified Negro journalists to positions of responsibility in management, meaning beyond being front-line reporters. . . .that is really crucial, because the producers and assignment editors and news directors regularly plot what will be covered and how, and our individual competency isn't enough to make sure that coverage is broadened or changed in any way.

My feeling is that while there are more minorities in TV, there are very few of us in management. . . .we have to get more people into decision-making positions. And we could use a little—a lot—more support from the community that demanded nine or ten years ago that we be there in the first place. It's not up to me to say that maybe we're doing too many feature stories, but unless some segment of the community, black or white, says, "We don't want to see that garbage; give us this instead," I don't think there's going to be much room for change, especially when the ratings reflect that people like the new (features) kind of approach to news.

Bill Black spent 10 years with the *Michigan Chronicle*, a black-owned newspaper, before joining WJR Radio as a city reporter two and a half years ago.

Like Gilliam and Wright Avery, many of Black's comments centered on the critical issue of black involvement—or lack of it—in the decision-making end of the news business.

BLACK: I find it interesting that this program evolved from the Kerner report. Because in May, 1966, a young reporter in Detroit predicted what happened on July 23, 1967. It happened that he was working for one of the major newspapers in Detroit, and had formerly been my colleague at the *Michigan Chronicle*. And his editors laughed at him, and they continued to laugh for 14 months, until mid-day Sunday, July 23. He (the late Joe Strickland) called the shot right on the line. That gives you one aspect of what Linda called the decision-making process.

Now it occurs to me that it doesn't make any difference whether you have one black staffer, five, ten, whether the percentages are one or five or ten or more.

In my judgement, the news media perform a vital function of providing a window on the world for the people who read or listen to that particular station or newspaper. And in Detroit, and I can only speak of Detroit, because I haven't spent much time in other cities in the past three years, that window reflects tokenism, the most invidious, virulent kind of sophisticated suburban racism.

And how many blacks, Poles, Chicanos, American Indians they have on their staff doesn't make any difference. Because the people making the decisions have changed very little. They are a very powerful, reluctant dragon being forced into the latter half of the 20th century.

I'm flabbergasted that anyone has the audacity in 1977 to say "I can't find *qualified* black applicants." Hell, I started working for the post office in 1943 as a kid. And on the second floor of the old General Post Office they had one row of black attorneys, another row of pharmacists, another row of med students, and they were telling the same story in 1943, "Can't find *qualified* black applicants."

Now there are numerous reasons why the best black students don't apply for a journalism job in radio, television or newspapers, because the perceptions are that the jobs aren't going to be there.

I started writing for a newspaper when I was working on an assembly line in a factory, because I wanted to be exposed to the kinds of situations that my guys were forced to live and work under. And to say that they're not qualified . . .the best qualified ones don't even come to the door, because they don't want to hear that "Well, thank you, yes, that's a fine resumé, and you've got excellent grades, and you have interesting experience, and you were editor at the U of M *Daily* and we'll call you." And the kid walks out the door.

Forget that stuff. That may have worked 50 years ago. It doesn't work today for any kids, black or white. They are far too sophisticated for anyone's scam. Those good applicants that don't show up at that desk also read and know about lawsuits. They know what your staff situation is and they know what your editorial policy is.

Black related the decision-making issue to the way local news organizations handled an incident in 1976 involving a youth gang invasion of the city's convention hall.

BLACK: If you listened or read only the Detroit news outlets, you got the impression that there were 10,000 gang members marching down East Jefferson and Woodward converging on Cobo Hall preparing to take over the city.

We have a quarter of a million kids in the public schools in the city of Detroit. No one has been able to find more than 400 hard core gang members. And what was the lead story for months on end? And what's the first question (when) the police chief has a news conference about a multiple murder? "Chief, how're the gangs doing!" If he has a news conference about heroic police officers—"Gee, Chief, what do you think the guys are going to do this summer?" If he has a news conference to announce acquisition of two army surplus helicopters, "Chief, can you control the gangs this year? Will the helicopters handle the gangs any better than they did last year?"

Kerner plus 10. I think the report was accurate then; I think what was written then could practically almost accurately be written today.

There's been a lot of back-patting and maybe a number of people have salved their consciences. But from the standpoint of talking about the gut issues, the things that caused 1967 could cause a 1977—the fact of the matter is, in the city of Detroit we're a hell of a lot worse off now than we were in 1967.

The story in Detroit that practically no one will touch is that the cleavage in the black community between those fortunate enough to have that good, solid, middle-class background, and those who don't have it has grown as wide and as broad as the cleavage that exists between the white and black communities.

When you cover any of these civic things in Detroit now you always see the same scattering of stories, there are the same black faces and the same white faces. You go to the NAACP Freedom Fund dinner and there are no gang members there, no gang members' parents.

From the standpoint of the media situation, the decision-makers don't live in Detroit, more importantly, don't know Detroit. They want that titillating kind of story . . . and that's what they get.

I think that I left the best newspaper in Detroit, working for a mickey-mouse minority newspaper. It was the best job because they let me choose what I wanted to cover. I was out there and the guy said, "You're out there, you know what should be covered, do it."

When I went to WJR, it was essentially the same. That is a rare privilege, I guarantee you. News coverage in Detroit would improve dramatically if the experienced reporters in our city had something to say about what they cover, but they don't. There is someone sitting behind a desk who may know his way downtown, who certainly can find Renaissance Center, now. But if you take him off the freeway three blocks, someone's got to give him directions back to the freeway. And tell him which way his station is. To say that that's improvement, that's—it's absurd.

Bob mentioned four and a half on his staff in 1963. Well, in my judgment, there's still a lot of halfs on staffs. And it's reflected in their work. I don't think that's the problem of journalism schools. I think that's a problem of management.

There are those who imply that when they hire a cub reporter that reporter should be capable of going to Vietnam or South Africa or Buckingham Palace, and covering anything with the ability of someone who's been out there 20 years. Come on! Station managers don't graduate from the Columbia School of Journalism with a major in station management. They work their way up. Reporters have to do precisely the same thing.

One of the pending tragedies, as I see it, is that these so-called consultants who got their foot in the door with television, and have now gotten their feet in the door in some radio stations, have also had considerable influence on the papers, who are doing precisely the same thing. Now they want that same titillating story. Let's write about gangs and ADC mothers and loafers that don't work. Let's not cover the medicaid ripoffs too closely; let's not give too much coverage to concerned citizens for better care and outfits like that because they're radicals. Well that guy from some suburb made that decision.

KERNER
PLUS 10

Appendix

Minority Journalism Student Enrollment and
Employment Data Compiled for
Kerner Plus 10 Conference
by the Howard R. Marsh Center for
the Study of Journalistic Performance.

Minority Enrollment In Journalism Schools

Black minority students made up 3.8% of the total enrollment of 190 colleges and universities offering journalism education in 1976. They were 2,540 of the total 64,502 students. There were also 1,540 students of other minority groups (Spanish speaking, Asian-American and native American.)

This represented *no increase* in percentage for blacks over 1975. It was a 1% increase over 1973 when these figures were first collected as part of the annual survey of enrollments conducted for the Association for Education in Journalism. In 1973, with 164 schools reporting a total of 48,327 students, there were 1,407 black students.

These figures are "only good estimates at best," according to Professor Paul V. Peterson of Ohio State University, who reports the findings annually in AEJ's *Journalism Educator*. Some schools decline to provide minority figures, some just guess at the numbers, some don't respond at all, and others provide precise figures.[1]

An earlier series of figures compiled by Professor Edward J. Trayes of Temple University for AEJ is not precisely comparable because Trayes surveyed fewer schools and counted only juniors and seniors in journalism. He did begin counting minorities earlier, and his results are informative.

Trayes located 128 black juniors and seniors in 1969 in his first survey. They made up 2% of the juniors and seniors in the 69 schools he surveyed. The following year his survey covered 103 schools, which reported 7,440 majors,[2] 237 or 3.19% of them black. The 1970 survey showed that 40% of the schools responding had no black students. In Trayes' last survey (1974) only 20% of the 135 schools reported no black students, and the number of black juniors and seniors had risen to 681 or 5.4% of the total of 12,516.

[1]Peterson said there were 266 programs in journalism in 1975, and many of the schools not responding to his survey were small schools whose numbers would not change the figures much.

[2]Peterson reported a total of 33,106 journalism students in 1970.

Trayes' figures				
1969	69 schools	6,418 jr/sr	128 black or	2% of total
1970	103 schools	7,440	237	3.19%
1971	114 schools	8,577	384	4.5%
1972	135 schools	11,329	472	4.2%
1974	135 schools	12,516	681	5.4%
Peterson's figures				
1973	164 schools	48,327 all students	1,407 black or	2.8% of total
1974	164 schools	55,078	1,628 black or	2.95% of total
			874 other min.	1.6%
1975	196 schools	64,151	2,216 black or	3.8% of total
			1,171 other min.	1.6%
1976	190 schools	64,502	2,540 black or	3.8% of total
			1,540 other min.	

SOURCES:

Journalism Educator, Fall 1971, Jan. & Oct. 1972, July 1974, Oct. & Jan. 1975, Jan. 1976, Jan. 1977.

Journalism Quarterly, Summer 1970, Spring 1969.

Minority Employment In Broadcasting

Minority employment in commercial television continued "leveling off" in 1976 following a trend that started about three years ago.

FCC employment reports from 665 stations last year count 5,932 minority employees out of a total, full-time work force of 43,268, or 14%.

When part-time workers are included minorities are 12% of the total.

(Non-commercial stations [158] reported 881 minorities out of 6,904 total, or 13%).

A comparison of full-time employment figures for 641 stations found minority employment increased 1% between 1975 and 1976. That's considered a decline compared to the years 1971 thru 1973 when the proportion of minorities climbed from 8.3% to 11.5%.

Blacks are 10% of the minority grouping. Orientals, American Indians, and Spanish Americans make up the balance.

FCC reporting forms list nine job categories which do not accurately correspond to job titles used by the broadcast industry. That's especially true of the top four where people make the most money and also make important company decisions. The result is some uncertainty about just what duties people are performing.

Critics suspect some stations are concealing the true employment picture for minorities and women behind the titles: officials/managers, professionals, technicians and sales. As evidence they cite the increasing numbers of minorities and women counted in these top four job levels and their declining numbers in the lower categories: office/clerical, craftsmen, operatives and laborers.

They question how a supervisory/management force of 78% can be adequately served by a support staff of only 22%, and they see these figures as an indication of promotions being made only on paper.

Another unrelated but striking observation is that minorities comprise a higher proportion of the part-time staff than they do full-time.

There's no question that more minorities are employed in broadcasting today than at any time in the industry's history. The question is what are they doing?

Obviously only a few of the 5,932 in commercial television are in the "high visibility" jobs. That would include on-camera reporters, and they apparently haven't been counted recently. However a 1973 RTNDA survey did describe the typical minority newsperson as: male, black, 27-years old, some college (48%), college grads (44%), a broadcaster for 3-years, on present staff for 2, generally satisfied with his job, but felt underpaid at $180/week median salary, and his work rated excellent or good by his news director.

Forty-five per cent of RTNDA respondents also believed they had less chance than a non-minority of being promoted to a management position.

The FCC counted 237 black officials/managers in 1976. And *Black Enterprise* magazine publisher Earl Graves says increasing numbers of blacks in all types of work understand that showcase jobs often lack the power to influence company policy.

In its February, 1977, issue *BE* identified 20 blacks working behind-the-scenes in broadcast management as general managers, sales managers, program directors, business managers and news directors.

Five are said to be the only black general managers of non-black radio stations. William Dillday is the sole black general manager of a commercial television station, WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi. After a successful license challenge (1964 to 1969) it is being run temporarily by an integrated community group. A black Mississippi college and state educational television are sharing the station's profits.

Of four news directors mentioned, two work in radio. The other two are in television. Robert Reid is southeast bureau chief for NBC and Jonathan Rodgers is at WBBM in Chicago. Reid and Rodgers both received training in the Columbia Program for Minority Journalists.

Black ownership of television stations in the continental U.S. is limited to one commercial station, WGPR in Detroit (since September, 1975) and the educational station, Channel 32 owned by Howard University. It received FCC permission to broadcast in 1974, but is not on the air yet. *****(LA *Times*, July 4, 1974.)

Gary, Indiana, has a black owned and controlled cable franchise (since 1973) and black groups hold cable franchises in Atlanta, Dayton and Detroit. *****(*Black Enterprise*, September, 1974.)

Of the 7,000 plus commercial radio stations in the U.S., 33 are black owned and operated. *****(*Black Enterprise*, September, 1974.)

In January, 1977, the Congressional Black Caucus moved to increase and expedite black ownership of broadcast stations. It petitioned the FCC to force broadcasters involved in revocation or disqualification hearings to turn over their licenses to buyers' groups with 50% minority membership. Such groups would be assigned the licenses in question "at a substantially lower sales price." *****(NY *Times*, January 17, 1977.)

The Caucus has been one of the media's most vocal critics on the subject of minority employment and ownership. In 1972 it called black journalists and others to testify at hearings on blacks in the media. And it concluded that racism in employment "pervaded" the mass media. It also charged that radio and television stations—and newspapers—had systematically excluded blacks from employment.

SOURCES:

Television Station Employment Practices 1976, United Church of Christ Office of Communication.

RTNDA—Survey of Minorities in Broadcast News, January, 1975, Vernon Stone, University of Georgia; Tracy Regan, KWWL-TV, Waterloo, Iowa.

Minority Employment In Newspapers

The employment of minorities in news editorial jobs in the nation's newsrooms has apparently stalled at under 1% of the 40,000 total. ("Woodstein U." The *Atlantic*, March, 1977)

Bob Maynard, member of the editorial board and editorial writer for the Washington *Post*, recalled that at the time the Kerner Commission issued its report in 1968 there were 25 to 35 black reporters on American dailies. "The number is around 300 today," he told students at the Howard University 6th Annual Communications Conference. (February, 1977)

The American Society of Newspaper Editors' Committee on Minority Employment in its most recent report (for 1975) said that of the 38,000 news professionals on daily newspapers, only 1% were minorities. The figure for broadcasting was 3%, according to ASNE.

The Newspaper Guild is currently conducting its first survey of minorities and women in their 82 locals. (March, 1977)

Blacks are even rarer in management and policy making roles in the media. Three white-owned dailies have black managing editors and one television station has a black general manager, according to Chuck Stone, syndicated columnist and president of the recently formed National Association of Black Journalists. Stone has also located eight black editorial writers and nine black newspaper columnists. (1977)

The figures on minority employment are extremely difficult to obtain, and most reports or studies do not use comparable job categories or media. Only those businesses with 100 or more employees must report minority employment figures with EEOC.

The EEOC figures are complicated by a system of job categories that does not differentiate between news/editorial positions and other professional and managerial employees. So, EEOC figures for 1975, which combine all these categories in the one called "imagemakers," found that 3.8% of these "imagemaker" jobs on U.S. newspapers were held by minorities. Many newspapers have no minority employees, and in general the larger publications have the higher percentages of minorities.

One of the earliest studies of black employment in newspapers was made in 1969 by Dr. Edward J. Trayes, of Temple University. Trayes surveyed 32 daily newspapers in 16[1] of the nation's largest cities. He found that 2.6% of the news executives, desk editors, reporters and photographers on these newspapers were black. He located one assistant city editor, six copy, makeup or picture editors and 18 photographers who were black.

Another study made by Woody Klein in 1968 found that the Washington *Post* had the highest percentage of black employees of the 61 newspapers studied. Of the *Post*'s 245 professional newsroom employees (news executives, deskmen, reporters and photographers), 16 were black—or 6.5%. The Cleveland *Press* in the same study with 80 newsroom employees had 5 who were black—6.2%.

[1]Negro populations in the 16 cities ranged from 10 to 50%.

SOURCES:

"The Negro in Journalism: Surveys Show Low Ratios," Edward J. Trayes, *Journalism Quarterly*, Spring 1969, pp. 5-8.

"Minority 'imagemakers' in media jobs increase," *Newspaper Fund Newsletter*, p. 4, October, 1976.

"Still Few Blacks on Dailies, But 50% More in J-Schools, Recent Surveys Indicate," Edward J. Trayes, *Journalism Quarterly*, Summer 1970, pp. 356-360.

ASNE Minority Employment Reports

The American Society of Newspaper Editors Committee on Minority Employment noted the declining pressure for minority recruitment and hiring in its final report in 1974. After three years of repeated checking on minority employment, recruitment, standards, and complaints, the committee decided it had served its purpose and ceased its surveys. Their fact-finding had convinced them that the majority of U.S. editors favored increased opportunities for members of minority groups, but progress was so slow that many were hypersensitive to inquiries and others just plain frustrated. There was weariness and general disaffection.

Editors' frustrations centered on two issues: their determination to maintain high editorial standards and their desire to hire minorities. They wanted minority employees—but those who were well-educated and ready to do the job. Some employers were willing to hire good prospects and spend time training them. But in general, editors and publishers expected the new employees to emerge from schools and colleges with basic writing and reporting skills. The ASNE committee urged its members to pay attention to the schools and the quality of education in their own areas and to sponsor special minority education programs and engage in recruiting.

The ASNE committee predicted slow progress "as the awareness of newspapers' genuine demand for black talent trickles into the black communities and gradually produces a more adequate supply of capable applicants."

The recession and the marked increase in militancy by women for more women in news jobs in the mid 1970s produced further barriers to progress in hiring of minorities.

SOURCES:

"ASNE survey shows minimal gain in black reporters," *Editor & Publisher*, April 13, 1974, p. 10, 40.

Sources of Further Information

Internships, Fellowships, Training

JOURNALISM SCHOLARSHIP GUIDE—annual publication listing scholarships and internships for students in journalism. Write: Newspaper Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 300, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

STILL HERE—published 10 times a year by the Minorities and Communications Division, Association for Education in Journalism, listing scholarships and internships and jobs for minorities and minority newsmaker items. Write: Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., School of Communications, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059. ($10 per year for AEJ members.)

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, School of Communications, Annual Communications Career Conference (February) in Washington, D.C. Write: Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., School of Communications, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059.

MINORITIES AND THE MEDIA—Ford Foundation Report, November 1974. Write: Ford Foundation, 320 E. 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

MINORITY EMPLOYMENT GUIDELINES FOR BROADCASTERS. Write: Dr. Betty Czech, University of North Carolina, RTVMP Department, Swain Hall D44A, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

HIGH SCHOOL URBAN JOURNALISM WORKSHOPS. Current programs and how to start a program with help from the Newspaper Fund, Inc. Write: The Newspaper Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 300, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

THE SUMMER PROGRAM FOR MINORITY JOURNALISTS. University of California at Berkeley. Print journalism only. Takes students for 11-week training period and internship. Applications: Ms. Katherine J. Kennedy, The Summer Program for Minority Journalists, University of California-Berkeley, School of Journalism, 607 Evans Hall, Berkeley, California 94720.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SUMMER INTERN PROGRAM. Takes college juniors who are minorities for 10-week work-

study program. Applications: Afro-American Affairs Institute, 10 Washington Place, New York, N.Y.

BOOTH MINORITY SCHOLARS IN JOURNALISM. Department of Journalism, University of Michigan. Accepts minority applicants to regular M.A. Journalism program, with possibility of summer internship and post-M.A. internship on Booth Newspapers. Applications: Department of Journalism, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109.

DUO-DEGREE PROGRAM IN AFRO-JOURNALISM AND PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS. Boston University, School of Public Communications. Accepts 5-10 students each year for three semesters of graduate study in Afro-American Studies and Public Communication, plus internship. Applications: Dr. William Worthy, Boston University, Duo-degree Program in Afro-Journalism and Public Communicatons, Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215.

BROADCASTING INTERNSHIP INFORMATION: Community Affairs Office, Minority Affairs Coordinator, National Association of Broadcasters, 1771 N. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

BROADCASTING INTERNSHIP INFORMATION: Radio and Television Division, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C., Attn: David Beckman.

NEWSPAPER INTERNSHIP INFORMATION: Write to individual newspapers or newspaper groups, such as Gannett Newspapers, Knight-Ridder Newspapers, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, etc. Addresses listed in *Editor and Publisher Yearbook*.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING MINORITY SCHOLARSHIP: Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 111 16th St., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Mid-Career, Professional Journalism Fellowships

Lucius W. Nieman Fellowships (subject selected by fellow). Harvard University, Nieman Foundation, 48 Trowbridge, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowships (subject selected by fellow). 3564 LSA Building, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109 or C-3 Cypress Hall, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. 94305.

Herbert J. Davenport Fellowships (economic reporting). Business Journalism Program, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 65201.

Sloan Foundation Fellowships (economic journalism). Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

Journalism-Law Fellowship (law studies). Yale University, Ford Foundation, 320 E. 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Energy Affairs Fellowships (energy sources, economics, social values). American Petroleum Institute, C-3 Cypress Hall, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. 94305.

Walter Bagehot Fellowships (business and economics). Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Jefferson Fellowships (Pacific area studies). University of Hawaii, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

Hughes Fellowships (business and financial writing). Stonier Graduate School of Banking, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

Minority Professional Organizations

National Association of Black Journalists. Chuck Stone, president, Philadelphia *Daily News*, 400 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19101.

National Association of Media Women, Inc. Rhea Calloway, founder, 10 W. 135th St., New York, N.Y.

National Newspaper Publishers Association. Dr. Carlton Godlett, president, 1770 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

Black Publishers Association, 836 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

Professional Organizations

Society for Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi—Professor Edward J. Trayes, chairman, National Committee on Minority News and Recruitment, Temple University, Department of Journalism, Philadelphia, Pa. 19122.

Women in Communications, Inc.—National Headquarters, Mary Utting, executive director, P.O. Box 9561, Austin, Texas 78766.

American Women in Radio and Television, Inc.—National Headquarters, 1321 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

American Society of Newspaper Editors—Al Neuharth, president, Gannett Newspapers, 55 Exchange St., Rochester, N.Y. 14614.

The Newspaper Guild—Hannah Jo Rayl, human rights coordinator, 1125 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation—P.O. Box 17407, Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041.

Radio, Television News Directors Association—Len Allen, managing director, 1735 DeSales St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

National Association of Broadcasters—1771 N. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Conference Participants

Barbara Abel, reporter, Milwaukee *Journal* and NEH Fellow.
Linda Wright Avery, reporter, WXYZ-TV, Detroit.
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